Political.

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FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Thursday Morning, January 17th, out to be the permanent policy of the incoming [On presenting in behalf of a minority of the country and the unity of the States-farewell to

Committee on Federal Relations, a minority re- civil and religious liberty-farewell to our fame, port, which recommended the adoption, by the strength and greatness-farewell to all except nate, of a preamble and series of resolutions, lentical with those offered in the Senate by Mr. Ray, and in the House by Mr. Holcomb, two and usurping dictators, fixing us in history with days before. They are printed in the Senate proceedings of that day in the Brevier Legislative Report.]

[Reported by W. H. Drapier.]

weeping and degenerate Mexico. Whoever then, demands immediate military coercion of either one, eight, or fifteen Southern States, demands disunion, demands war, blood and rapine—de-[REPORTED BY W. H. DRAPIER.] Mr. Rav. I believe it due from me, Mr. Pres-

dent, as one of the Committee on Federal Relations, to make some observations upon the while I do not object to the tone and spirit of the majority report, yet I feel that it falls so far short of the demands of the crisis, that this Senate, forged for them by ambitious leaders and daring forged for them by ambitious leaders and daring looking to the condition of public affairs, should adopt the amendment instead of the majority re port. We are, sir, now in the throes of revoluion, and I shall be the last man to introduce partisan discussions in this hall further than is necessary to explain my own position and the position silent halls of your National Capitol. of the party to which I have the honor to belong. It does not become that conciliatory and amiable this nation when such grave difficulties environed spirit which prevailed last evening in the Com our pathway. We have had rebellion and nullimittee on Federal Relations to drag party politics fication before—we have had our Northern Hartinto this discussion; but, sir, I do think that the ford Convention, and our Southern Nashville the State of Indiana, through her representatives. should make a broad, tangible declaration of sen- Washington, a Jackson, a Clay or a Webster iments that will be received by our Southern that were masters of their position and equal to States as the sentiments of a magnanimous and conservative people—a people who are opposed ing statesmen so enthroned in the hearts and conto the shedding of brothers blood. I think, sir, fidence of all sections and parties, with enough at this time we ought to rise above all partisan wisdom, courage and influence to give direction feeling—the patriot alone ought to speak in a perilous crisis like this—and whoever would bring about party discussions for the purpose of upatrious crisis like this—and whoever would bring about party discussions for the purpose of upatrious crisis like this—and whoever would bring about party discussions for the purpose of upatrious crisis like this—and whoever would bring to the current of revolutionary events.

Our people had just emerged from an embit tered contest for the Presidency, and I need not tered contest for the Presidency, and I need not tered contest for the Presidency and I need not tered contest for the purpose is along the presidency. holding his own party or defaming the opposition, ought not to be ranked as a patriot in times like alienation of leading public men have contributed alienation of leading public men have contributed hese. Then, sir, what is the duty of Indiana? I these. Then, sir, what is the duty of Indiana? I hold that her duty rises higher than the raising of a flag from the dome of our State House, or the passage of empty and harmless resolutions of at tachment to the Union. It is a cheap declaration of sensiment that we are in favor of the personnel. The produce the present deplorable condition of things. But it is self-evident that there is no one man who can say to the troubled waves, be still! Let me say it is time Senators should make a fair, frank and open avowal of the policy which tion of sentiment, that we are in favor of the per-petuation of the Union; this is but a regular petuation of the Union; this is but a regular conviction that there is no higher aim or end for fourth of July declaration for the last seventyfive years. The times demand something more practical, something more tangible, something that the country can rally around to save this

I know very well that our Republican friends find great difficulty, as partisans, in making these concessions and yielding the positions uccessary to save the Pomblica but of the positions uccessary whole filters. to save the Republic; but, sir, it is only critical occasions that demand partisans to cast off their partisanship and rise above it. It is cheap glory when the abandonment of old positions can do no good. I know how our Republican friends feel about this; and I know what a struggle must be going on in the bosoms of leading organs and oracles of that party to determine their line of duty. But, sir, public sentiment in the Northern States is rapidly drifting into two great channels, and two lines of policy are about to be adopted, unless, indeed, the Republican party of the Northshall consent to a course of conciliation, comproto save the Republic; but, sir, it is only critical shall consent to a course of conciliation, compro-mise and concession, which, while it will be honorable to the magnanimity and manliness of that will be taken up in the Southern States and used party, in view of the perilous condition of affairs, will mark the era of the restoration of permanent harmony and the Union of the States. harmony and the Union of the States.

Mr. President, almost in silence we are the Mr. President, almost in successful the condition of our most sand, under the condition may be a rope of sand, under the drama ever performed on the stage of human action—the curtain is rising, but the lights are going out, and soon we will be left to the darkness of revolution and the smoke of battle. Do we fail revolution and the smoke of battle. Do we fail to realize, or are we indifferent to this spectacle of a wasting and crumbling empire? Do we realize without a tremor that we are standing on the precipice of a dismembered confederacy? Do Senators indulge in the delusion that this is a mere episode in our national cases. When the spectacle is a special confederacy? When the special confederacy is a special confederacy. When the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy. When the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy in the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy in the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy in the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy in the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy in the special confederacy in the special confederacy is a special confederacy in the special confederacy i mere episode in our national career? Whoever supinely reposes in the hope and trust that Union and out a declaration that she has no comsupinely reposes in the hope and trust that Union and a peaceful reign of a Northern, sectional dynasty will be the crowning sequel of the present panic, will, too soon I fear, be startled by the thunder and electrified by the lightning of the waring elements.

We are also, Mr. President, bound to admit, if there be any significance in the rash movements of the cotton States, and in the tone of menace and defiance so generally breathed by the Republican leaders of the North, the issue is rapidly narrowing itself down to the simple proposition, shall the anti-slavery party of the North be preserved and the Union wrecked, or the Union preserved and the anti-slavery party wrecked. This is coming to the simple issue, disguise it as you may. We should be opposed to secession and also to civil war, for we can not have the one without the other, they are inscrepable, but if it was the other, they are inseperable; but if it were otherwise and we were driven to the dire necessity of embracing the one or the other, we should choose peaceful dissolution if all the Southern States demanded it, because peaceful dissolution would carry with it the hope and the feasibility would be—there could be, Senators, no wrong in States demanded it, because peaceful dissolution would carry with it the hope and the feasibility of a re-constructed government, upon a basis too strong and enduring to be ever again shaken by the intermeddling of a morbid and spurious philanthropy in the North, or the haughty spirit of idsubordination which displays itself in the proscriptions, insult, and lynching of Northern men which now so disgrace the civilization of the Scorth Scorth Scorth Scorth Scorth Scorth Scorth Scort Age, Senators, no wrong in this—no wrong to the country—none to its peace if we send this pledge of our good faith and fraternal feeling to the people of Kentucky and our sister slave States. Aye, Mr. President, this is not all; this goes out as the declaration of the people of Indiana, not to be modified at any future time. I say, then, it is indispensible to the perpetuity of the Union that we come to and next sixty days others will join them, and in the natural order of events, under the Republican programme of "no more compromises," each slaveholding State will gravitate, through sympathy and interest, to a common Southern Conhy and interest, to a common Southern Con-eracy; whoever does not see and comprehend independence or vote men and money to com-mence a war of subjugation? Is there a man this by military power, instead of conciliation and who would hesitate to acknowledge their inde-

mise, are now the watch-words of ultra men. I this age and country, invoive this Union in a compromise this Union can not survive the crisis. and the party that shall stand aloof at this time to preserve a political, sectional party ascendency on mere punctilios of doctrinal antagonism, are as much involved in the guilt of moral treason to this Government as if they participated in a secession convention, when it is self-evident that the yielding of a barren party abstraction would in Indiana—not alone to the dominant party of

And here, Mr. President, let me remark that

will be a united people.

our Republican friends have adopted the tactics of the disunion leaders of the South in hurrying he people into mad schemes by taunts, jeers and offamatory appeals to sectional pride and prejudice. It is coming to be the slang of partisan newspapers and Wide Awake leaders, who have the Government, to taunt conservatives with be nothing at stake in the stability or overthrow of ing sympathizers with South Carolina, abettors of treason, and the like, in order to appear to be on the patriotic side, and to intimidate others by and but sought occasion of offense and grounds for exciting the odium of Abolition fanatics against them. For myself and to intimidate others by disunion. But, sir, we can not adopt the measures for the pacification of South Carolina which General Jackson did in 1832. We are frequently Mr. President, such conduct has no terrors, and we will continue to act upon and support the line reminded that the policy of General Jackson was of policy shadowed forth in the minorty report, and this scheme of precipitating a united North into a war to gratify the hostility and malignity of Abolitionists, will signally fail, although it has been pursued by Southern demagogues for purposes of hasty and thoughtless revolution. By ering to bad passions and abusing and pre- at least eight Gulf States not only sympathizing poses, the unscrupulous and hireling demagogues, North and South, have brought the country to the very verge of ruin, and now unholy efforts verting good ones, and for base and selfish purare being made both in the North and at the North stand still and raise no voice or hand to South to precipitate an armed collision to gratify Abolition rancor and party malevolence, and in the hope upon the one side of the eventual over the hope upon the one side of the eventual over throw of slavery, and upon the other of its greater practicable, tangible; something that can go out security and strength. Against this false appeal to sectional pride and anti-slavery fanaticism, Union the conservative elements North and South can rally, and make fight for the against the urgency with which the present administration is pressed to an armed conflict by the Republican press, in the name of my country I

olemnly protest.

Mr. President, without inquiring for the mo-Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Texas. ment where the responsibility rests, it must be A voice-North Carolina. conceded that the American people have involved themselves in an issue of fearful magnitude—

Mr. Ray—Yes, North Carolina I should have themselves in an issue of fearful magnitude—

enumerated among the States that would be the

INDIANA STATE SENTINE.

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WHOLE NO 1,115

this issue must have a peaceful or violent soluwill hazard a violent one? Unmoved by Recal flourishes about the American Eagle and the star-spangled banner, I take my stand for the Union of the States-and as necessary to that Union-for the peace of the country-for the peaceful enforcement of the laws, and the protection of the Federal property. Without peace there can be no Union, with armed intervention 13 cents. for the strict enforcement of the laws and protection of Federal property there can be no peace. So while there is a united voice among us for the Union, the point of divergence is I hold that every drop of blood shed at this stage of the difficulty diminishes the chances of the that the people of the border slave States, who utive. Union, and every battle fought will make the stream of blood deeper, wider and more impassable between the sections. Then I plant myselfand take all the responsibility—on the policy of peace and compromise. This conservative policy, for the time requires all parties to dissolve, and platform to perish, and all party slogans, watchwords and creeds to be offered as sacrifices Speech of Hon. M. May, of Shelby upon the altar of Union. But if the madness County, in the Senate of Indiana, which sways Republican counsels now shall turn dissolution, with all its calamities, should come passions of another. Administration, farewell to the peace of the the reign of faction, fanaticism and folly-the saturnalia of demagogues, military adventurers, mands that in the wake and hurried tread of armies shall follow burning cities and servile insurrections-demands commercial, manufacturing, agricultural and financial ruins-demands the deng question. I feel it due to myself to say, cay of civilization and religion—demands that the usurpers-demands that individual and national wealth, national pride, national confidence, public spirit and public enterprise shall be buried in the grass that shall spring up in your streets, or take refuge with the bats that shall gather in the There never has been a time in the career of Convention—we have heard the mutterings of the Republican and Democratic parties, in the Sir, it is useless to attempt to disguise the fact revolution time and again, but we always had a

the crisis-but now it seems that we have no livadherence to party platforms. ever your provocations may be, however perilous the condition of our liberties, however much the excitement of the hour, we have no other olive-His resolutions indicate what the border slave States demand. Let Indiana come up to the work manfully and nobly! Let the Senate of Indiana show that we realize the responsibility which now so disgrace the civilization of the South. Several of the cotton States have resolved themselves out of the Union, and in the solved themselves the union that the solved themselves the union that the union th slave States. Without that we might as well come to the conclusion to recognize the inciependence of fifteen of the Southern States. Is any Senator prepared to vote to acknowledge their compromise, is mad, and his counsels should be pendence, whose heart is so thirsty for the blood of a brother. the Christianity of the age that would now, in scene of blood and carnage with all the horrors of massacre and the confusion of battle, in order for an hour? Mr. Lincoln is President elect. He comes into office under most desponding auspices. as dark as night hover over the horizon. For his the North-but to every strong heart and hand, in the maintainance of the Federal laws. Unless some great compromise shall be agreed upon, this can not be. Give us the Crittenden amendments. or any kindred amendments, that will satisfy the

people, before twelve months roll round, unless chivalry and courage; she lacks neither the physsome pacification be agreed upon, to stand be-tween the ultra men of the North and the South. martyrdom. I believe that the conservative element of the If it can be shown that anti-slavery agitators country-and I do not speak for Democrats alone, are responsible for existing evils, then an obligabut conservative Republicans, Americans and tion is shown upon all such to go along with us Bell men-I believe the conservative sentiment in support of the minority report. of this country demands that the Crittenden com- If South Carolina has taken a leap into the promise should be proposed by the people of the North. And it is no answer to this proposition to say, as many of our Republican friends do with her to assist in buffeting the waves of an say, that "We won the victory, we fought this unknown sea, is not our duty a plain one, to battle, and we are entitled to have our doctrines and principles carried out now by the united the Southern States in the Union, and ultimately voice of the people." Now, sir, allow me to say reach South Carolina? Do not the signs of the in the spirit of kindness, and I fully consider the times admonish us that if ultra men in the two responsibility of the declaration, that until the extremes are to wield the sword and cut the ultra men of the North shall come forward and thread of our destiny, that we will be blotted out work of subjecting the South by any kind of mil- that the attitude of the Republican party is beitary crusade; and for the reason that the spirit of coming daily more ultra, defiant, menacing and independence and patriotism beats alike in the hostile to the South. As they make their bed so bosom of Republicans and Democrats. I believe shall they lie. The Republicans refuse to comthe conservative sentiment of the country de- promise to save the Union, and we refuse to fight mands this concession before the consummation to dissolve it. They have brought the calamity of disruption has been reached. How little a of disunion upon the country, and we, by peace concession and sacrifice is it for the Republican and compromise, hope to restore it. They would party to make, who can afford to be generous, lib- push the Wide-awake columns into Southern soil, eral and national; how little a concession is it, I and stir up the elements of servile insurrection say for them to shake off this simple, tenacious while we would meet our Southern brethren in It is said that the Crittenden resolutions recogvize slavery south of the proposed line of division. Suppose it does. In 1856, in the National Congress, every Republican Representative, save one, voted for Dunn's bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union, which did recognize the exist- which we have always so proudly acknowledged ence of slavery in that Territory, and provided allegiance. I can give an impartial summary of for its continuance to years. The Federal Con- these grievances of which the South complains stitution recognizes, in three different relations, and we know them to be true; and it is no an the existence of slavery in a State. And, now, swer nor even palliation for the North to say that let me ask, where is the moral or political sin for the South provoked them, because we are bound the modern, and, I might say, degenerate sons of to perform all our constitutional obligations and our revolutionary sires? Where is the sin for us abstain from irritation, insult and wrong, in order to acknowledge what our ancesters were not to uphold the Constitution and laws. At a time ashamed to establish? Are we better than the like this, when our political edifice is giving way, men who made the Constitution, and who fought it is perilous, it is criminal, to stop with an arguand won the independence of the country, and established our free institutions? Most assuredly not, sir. And let me remind Senators that this is not a becoming time to stand upon mere punctilios of honor and party spirit—that the history of the political parties in this country furnish abundant examples of concession and compromise—that they themselves have belonged to a whose fundamental principle was antagonism to party of the past who have from time to time slavery, and whose mission was its extinctionparty of the past who have from time to time yielded many points that were regarded at the time as great principles of the Government, and yet it was not regarded as a yielding or abandonment of a principle of honor, or as a concession unworthy of patriots and statesmen. How long has it been since a great and proud party of this country stood committed to a United States bank expansion over the free States with a correspondas the regulator of exchange and financial agent of the Government? We all know how readily that was abandoned, at the the behests of party. Not long since, sir, a tariff to protect domestic industry—hostility to the independent treasury system—determined opposition to the veto power,—a demand that it be abrogated by constitutional amendment were the watch work and ndustry-hostility to the independent treasury tional amendment-were the watch-words and rallying cry of a great and powerful party; and tion as fraught with alienation, jealousy, strife yet all these have passed away and yielded to the tests of experience and the necessities of the tests of experience and the necessities of the times. And coming down to more modern times, how long has it been since opposition to the fugitive slave law was the slogan and grand ago the Northern preachers and Northern demasentiment of the Republican party; and yet, to-day, that is abandoned? However, Ohio has declared hostility to that law; but, generally speaking, the Republican party have abandoned or smothered their opposition to it. How long, or smothered their opposition to it. How long, sir, has it been since there was a party in this country that repeatedly declared against the accountry that repeated against the accountry that repeatedly declared against the accountry that repeated against the accountry that the accountry that repeated against the accountry that the accou quisition of any more foreign territory to extend organization grew bolder and more dangerous, and the boundaries of the Republic? and recently it was admitted by a Senator from Ohio (Mr. control of the Federal Government, while the two Wade) that the leading object and aim of the Re publican organization was to acquire vast territo- the political field—Clay and Webster, having ries from Mexico, and surround the slave States died—this organization conceived the mighty an with a cordon of free States, so that the institu- daring enterprise of overthrowing and disba tion of slavery would eat the vitals of Southern the Whig party, the occasion was presented in the society, and destroy itself. So gentlemen should not be afraid of concession when the rise or fall seiged the Whig citadel; they stormed its gates. of a great empire is at stake. If it has come to its walls gave way, its proud columns crumble this, sir, that a mere party creed is to stand, though to dust, and the Abolition flag waved over its the Union fall—if a platform is to be held up, though the Constitution be shattered—if the tenthough the Constitution be shattered—if the tenthough the beseigers filled the plains. acious spirit of partisan and sectional divisions shall still be brought against Southern institutions slavery, it may be asked what acts of wrong or and Southern people—it is an unfortunate condition of the public mind, and portends our greatest history? calamities. This slavery agitation has brought the country to what it is. And I shall not, for which the South was guilty was the crime of hold the country to what it is. And I shall hot, the sake of exasperating party feeling, lay the whole of this charge at the door of my friends duty of the Abolition pulpit in the North to roast them the injustice to say they are Abolitionists; but I will say, and I am bound to say in justice and honor, that the slavery agitation, brought up brotherly love for the slave. Thus they kept enby the once despised Abolition party of thirty years ago, has grown stronger and stronger, until t overthrew the old Whig temple and banished from its halls its priests and its altars; and when it took upon itself the robes and organization and name of Republican party, at the same time it took within its bosom the entire anti-slavery and Abolition forces. This is true, and it is useless to disguise the fact that the agitation of the slavey question has brought the country to its present condition. I will not do the Republicans the injustice to say that they have agitated the question Emissaries and colporteurs were employed by alone; but I will say that Republican demagogues -and I would not apply this epithet to any gentleman on this floor, or to any gentleman's constituents-and pro-slavery demagogues at the South, have alike pandered to the slavery and anti-slavery sentiments of their respective sections, and thus have brought the country to its present unfortunate condition. And the report of the majority of the Committee on Federal Relations proposes no remedy. Have the Republican members of this Senate no remedy to proconservative slave States, and in sixty days we pose? If not, it is time we all knew it. I say and I repeat it is time Senators here should speak I would not stand here, sir, and by argument frankly and plainly as to any measure they have f pacification and Union. If this is all the desuit the tastes of South Carolina. My opinions claration that is to go from the Senate of Indiana to the people of the Union-that we are in favor of the Union, (for that is the subtance of it,) and that we pledge whatever is due from a loval State to the Federal Government to uphold the lawst declares nothing more than the simple waving of a flag would from the dome of the Capito so very different from that of Mr. Buchanan; Now, sir, we demand, and the country demands. some measure of adjustment. Oh, but you say: We can't now consistently with our position; we have fought the battle, won the victory, the issue lish, exagerate, criticise and stigmatize it until the is decided in our favor; and, as was intimated in His Excellency's (ex-Gov. Lane) inaugural, the other day, the man who does not stand up and but co-operating with her, and not only that, but maintain the results of that victory, in its full bellished with the cuts and advertisements of runwidth and breatdh, is to be regarded as sympa-thizing with and giving aid and comfort to South companied with insulting, and taunting and scuril-Carolina, and should be dealt with accordingly. ous comments, and to-day the Tribune is as vene-Sir, if you would strengthen the Administration mous and defamatory toward the South as ever of Mr. Lincolo, you must have a united public before, and beside is an open advocace of the sentiment. You must propose measures of con- right of secession. If newspaper defamation and cession and compromise to the border slave States. | libel can dissolve the ties of a common ancestry As a Senator here I am not asking or proposing measures of conciliation and compromise to States more is wanting. in revolt; but you give terms and compromises to And even to-day, sir, while-our side-of the

first, as I hope, to accept the Crittenden amend | as they now stand, and the number will be inment as a just compromise. Is it not the duty of creased within thirty or sixty days to eight, if it the Legislature to give the conservative elements is intended to pledge the Senate of Indiana to in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and furnish men and money to march armies under Texas a compromise upon which they can rally the bloody Abolition banners of the North through and make fight for the Union? Is there a man these conservative slave States in order to subjuhere in the North who stands idly by and says that gate those in revolt, without having first offered "I place my party above my country?-my plat- them the olive branch, without first having reform above the Constitution, or my creed and paired the injury we have done and retracted the committals above a compromise?" The man who grievances which they have suffered at our hands does this, will have to fight a party in the North | we will have a party at the North that are not before a twelve month, that will stand as a lion prepared to second Mr. Lincoln when he beats his in the path of those who would march their armies | morning drum for recruits. We ought not to through the center and border States, to strike the commit ourselves to any rash measures, if these seceding and revolting States of the South; be- resolutions contemplate such. First try peaceful cause there is a party in this country that looks to measures, and when these fail, when the olive the past when they determine the merits of this branch is rejected with contamely and thrown in controversy. While they have no excuse for the our faces, it will then be time for Indiana with States who have seized upon the Federal property one voice to declare that she will furnish men and are precipitating revolution; yet they do say and money to strengthen the hands of the Exec-

are loyal to the Union, are entitled to the respect of the people of the Northern States; and that what are the causes of this sectional convulsion? while the dominant party of the North hold the Whom shall we arraign for this perilous political destinies of this Government—the most glorious and financial disturbance? I shall briefly inquire, and be satisfied of earth's fabrics—while they hold In doing this I trust I shall keep myself above the destiny of this Government in their hands, personal reflections and party criminations. they are appealed to by the patriotic masses of shall not shrink, however, from inculpating al the country, North and South, to make the nec- who are amenable to arraignment for this folly essary concessions and compromises to save it, and crime of tampering with the constitutional and if they do not, if evil counsels prevail, and rights of one section and pandering to the morbid

upon us, let the blame lie at their door. I know If in the Gulf States reason has abdicated her there are gentlemen who are so excited, (I will throne and madness vociferates her audacious not say by any other than patriotic motives.) as decrees, let me ask whether the Northern mind to say, "Come every calamity, come war, come has not also been laboring under delirium tremens pestilence, come famine, I will not yield one jot of a type scarcely less dangerous? The causes or tittle of the platform of principles to which I stood committed in the late political struggles of timent ought to control the dominant party in the the day." I believe, sir, it will be a solemn North to forbearance and moderation. The duty of the conservative portion of the Northern | South may lack numerical strength, but not

make some proposition of compromise, there will have union in the future in the North between a vert the calamity?

In the North shall come for ward and thread of our destiny, that we will be pardoned for her alarm, when we leave the price of the Union is nothing less than compromise the North between a vert the calamity? national council, and in a spirit of fraternal regard for past grievances adjust our difficulties as our patriotic Fathers did before us. While secession is no remedy for the evils complained of, blossom, and herein lies the true cause of the threatened dismemberment of a Government to ment vindicating our own wrong by accusing some one else of dereliction. Our inquiry mus be, what wrongs have we done? and what rights have we denied our brethren of the South? Thirty years ago there sprang up in the North the Abolition society, composed at first of mis-guided, short-sighted and bigoted philanthropists,

> expansion over the free States with a correspond-ing increase of boldness and audacity could not create one. At first this organization was despised for the weakness of its members and the incendiary extravagance of its doctrines, but statesmen at once pronounced the slavery agitaaging an organization in the North whose avowed mission was freedom to the slave. Twenty years gogues commenced bowing and pandering to this disease of the Northern mind. The pulpit proposition, and the oil that fed the flame was, that slavery is a sin, and the higher law propagandists old national Whig and Democratic parties occupie

Now up to this period in the progress of anti

It will be borne in mind that the only offense of wrath-a practice that has been continued even to this day by the Beechers of the Northern pulpit, who preach the gospel of hate for the master an rolling the self-righteous and the bigots of the land in a sectional crusade for purposes destructive of the peace and constitutional rights of the South, and ultimately made the morality, constiautionality and the ultimate abolishment of slavery political test questions at the polls. This unwar antable intermeddling with the moral aspect o slavery and with its evils to the social polity of State, is as offensive and humiliating to a slave State as would be like interferences by a slave State with our liquor or election law.

Abolition societies and with Abelition money to travel and distribute inciendary documents amo the slaves of the South, inciting servile insurred tion, and if now and then one was hangel or lynched, forthwith he was placed in the calendar of martyred saints, and the blood of the martyr was declared to be the seed of the church. these aggressions of the Abolitionists were re sisted they became more desperate and determined and in the name of free speech and in the very wantonness of the liberty of the press they from time to time planted their newspaper batteries i slave States, and because the slaveholder pre ferred the destruction of the press to the desola tion of his own hearth-stone, dismal songs were sung about the "aggressions of the slave power." But if these instrumentalities have been active in stirring up the bad passtons of men, convulsing society and undermining the Constitution, what must we say of a portion of the Northern press? With a special view to excite odium against slavery and excite wrath and heart burnings between the sections, that portion of the press has never neglected an opportunity to seize every reported case of cruelty towards a slave and pub-

bosom of Abolitonism was wrung with pity. For years the New York Tribune has been emaway slaves clipped from Southern papers, ac

the border slave States, who are loyal, and we chamber are demanding that Indiana shall bring will trust the question to them; they will deter the weight of her opinions to bear on the settle mine the question. We have, sir, to-day, four ment of our national troubles, Republican gen-States that have resolved themselves out of the Federal Union. Now, if it is intended by the con- and with an indifference to the startling tones of cluding resolution of this majority report that we the fire bell of revolution that would have shamed Mr. Ray—Yes, North Carolina I should have pledge men and money to the Federal Government the philosophy of Nero in fiddling while Rome to carry on an armed invasion of these four States, was burning, say they will watch the phases of

the revolution and take their cue from their lead- of Indiana. Indiana stands as a conservative guarantees tendered to the conservative slave ers at Washington. Very little, Mr. President, State; her statute books are unstained with nulliis to be expected from Republican politicians at fying laws or personal liberty bills; but Senators Democracy will be the lion in the path of Wide Washington, who are committed, pledged and will pardon me for saying that we arenot indebted Awake armies from the North to establish Reelected on old issues. We are to be saved, if at to the Republican party of this State for that publicanism in the South. all, by the honest, patriotic, conservative masses, proud satisfaction. and it is high time for them to speak through this Mr. Newcomb (interrupting) - When and where

I think I am not assuming too much, Mr. such laws? North and South, in a manly and honorable pared to say this, that the sentiment of the Re- over Federal property must be asserted. Now I scheme of adjustment, but relying upon the mili- publican party in Indiana has not been different have my own views of the delicate relations which tary power of the Federal Government to coerce in a marked degree from the sentiment of the seach of these propositions bears to the other. How seceding States and in that way attempt to preserve the Union and their principles at the same many of the Northern States such laws do exist. dependence and de facto government of South time, they will certainly find the conservatives of Ohio did propose such a personal liberty bill, and Carolina to exercise exclusive power over Fedthe country determined to preserve the peace and it became the law of the State, but was repealed eral property at Charleston? Possibly Federal

ficed much to lay a lasting foundation of civil so express it, for I have but one language to in the present temper of the public mind South, liberty in the Union of the States-let us beware apply to the North and South-such laws have would unite in a common cause of resistance lest we endure too little and sacrifice not enough. been, I say, passed, striking directly at the Con- the fifteen States and light up the whole land with They made this Union a holy alliance—let us be stitution of the Federal Government, which we civil war and not maintain the government? Can ware that we do not make it an accursed bond. are all under the most solemn obligations to sus- the Union of the States be maintained by force? Complaint is made that the Democracy refuse to tain. join in the cry of coercion, war and subjugation.

But, sir, I must be allowed to say this before I

For myself, sir, I say I am fortified with the conclude: The sentiment breathed by the leaders the conquerer and the conquered. In fact it right and I will not be moved by threats and of the Republican party now and for the past six would be no Union at all, for one or all the consequences. I look forward to the day, sir, years has been one of aggression and one of hos Southern States thus subjugated would be at best when, if evil must befall us, and when fifteen tility to slavery in the South. And, sir, this dec- conquered provinces. Then one proposition is States of this constellation shall have shot from laration rests not so much upon their personal measurably dependent upon and is a condition to their sphere, and when State shall be arrayed liberty bills, nor upon their State and national the other. No more fatal delusion could betray against State, and when embattled armies shall platforms as upon the general spirit of the can the public mind than that either the Federal have impoverished the country, and faction vass that has swept over the Northern States for Union or public liberty can be preserved in such and selfish ambition shall have shattered the na- the last few years. tion into petty hostile despotisms, that my children When I wish to know the spirit of the people, very mountains and improve the horrors of the shall read the record of this day's proceedings to and that which actuates a great political party in learn who is responsible for the overthrow of the a heated canvass, I do not look alone to its plat-Constitution and the author of their calamities. forms, nor to the editorials of its newspapers, nor the plea that the present Constitution is adequate They will learn from this record that there were those who would not save the country by the surrender of an abstraction. Let me say, sir, and flags, which are the symbols of the unwritten to the present Constitution is adequate to the protection of the rights of all the States and Territories, as an argument against this change. This is doubtless true if the Republi-

It comes to us from all hands-from the ac- years against the people of the South. It is a tion so as to recognize slavery any where. Do credited exponents of Republican sentiment-that common expression by Republican gentlemen, we not all know that that instrument recognizes the day of compromise has passed. Then, sir, the and I give them credit for all sincerity when they slavery wherever it exists already? Do we not days of the Republic have passed. They say that a say it: "We are not Abolitionists, nor do we have also know that the Dred Scott decision recogcompromise would be a surrender of all the advantages of victory. Does not this show that Now, sir, there have been some circumstances the Republican leaders, from Mr. Seward down, there is more love of party than of country? in the history of Northern politics during the repudiate the authority of that decision and claim Why, one would suppose that the surrender of party than or condict in the country could be surrendered without sacrifice. In the instant pointed a spirit on the part of the Republicans of the North quite inconsistent with their late death-bel avowal. I When Republican leaders are asked to purchase take back that "death-bed" expression, and will are shamelessly avowed? But the South may be a surrender of the advantages of the victory. American Senate and of the Republican party, and an abandonment of their doctrines and plat- when we have it announced by such high oracles disclaimed by them. Sixty-eight Republican forms-that Mr. Lincoln was elected by a major- that there is a higher law than the Constitution | members of Congress subscribed an endorsemen ity of the nation, and the whole nation must sub of the land, which should control the actions and of the Helper book, the most diabolical of all the mit peaceably, or by force. Mr. Lincoln lacked be the touchstone of man's political conscience; a million of votes of having a majority, and those when we have it announced from such high authat did vote for him never voted that, in a strug-gle between the existence of the Union and the between the slave labor of the South and the have denied in the Chicago platform that Conexistence of a platform, the Union must perish. free labor of the North, that a house divided gress, a Territory, a community, or any associa-Let me ask if they hold any doctrines and purposes inimical to the South, whether it is not their duty to abandon them? and, if they obtained any sectional victory and sectional advantage in the election of Mr. Lincoln, whether they will ven the behalf of the Mortin, that a house divided gress, a Territory, a community, or any association of individuals have power to give legal exposes inimical to the South, whether it is not their duty to abandon them? and, if they obtained any sectional victory and sectional advantage in the election of Mr. Lincoln, whether they will ven the behalf of the Mortin, that a house divided gress, a Territory, a community, or any association of individuals have power to give legal exposes in the section of the Mortin, that a house divided gress, a Territory, a community, or any association of individuals have power to give legal exposes in the section of the Mortin, that a house divided gress, a Territory, a community, or any association of individuals have power to give legal exposes in the section of the Mortin, that a house divided gress, a Territory, a community, or any association of individuals have power to give legal exposes in the section of the Mortin that the States must be all free or ali slave, as was announced at Springfield by the President elect of the United States in 1858, and in October afterwards at Rochester by Mr. Seward; when these expressions come from such lights and oracles of the American control of the Mortin that the States must be all free or ali slave, as was announced at Springfield by the President elect of the United Scott decision and contempts and the control of the Mortin that the States must be all free or ali slave, as was announced at Springfield by the President elect of the United Scott decision and contempts and the control of the Mortin that the States must be all free or ali slave, as was announced at Springfield by the President elect of the United Scott decision and contempts and the control of the Mortin that the States must be all fre the harmony and the integrity of the American Union? Who dare undertake to weigh these slippery planks of a rickety platform, gotten up by slippery, rickety and seedy politicians, to catch voters, in the scales with the peace and union of the States? I only know of one set of men that form; does this not furnish urgent reasons for the Republican caucus. All these issues they will consent to do it. They are the hungry par- concession and compromise on the part of con- say are determined in their favor. I ask candid tisan patriots, who reason among themselves that servative States and alarm to the States of the Senators whether there is not just ground for the issue is one of Union and Disunion, and the South? conditions of union involve the stability and ex- It is an empty avowal for them to say "We are Heretofore party pride and party committals istence of the Republican party. Victory was ob- not Abolitionists, nor sympathizers with Aboli- have been sacrificed for party success, but now tained by the unholy agitation of slavery, and tionists," while the record of the Republican when issues are of such magnitude and colossal what is necessary for us to concede to save the Union is necessary and vital to our own existence —so that either the Union or the Republican it is yet fresh in the recollection of men and reorganization must perish—and the lean, hungry, mains an imperishable record in the proceedings lions for Republicanism, but not a cent for comcadaverous partisan says: "Let the Union slide." of the United States Senate that Mr. Seward promise to save the Union." They are only for

When we consider the doctrines of the Republiment.

great proposition of compromise such as will meet test against it as a citizen of a Northern State.

dies of the Government, first. suppose eight slave States were in arms and demanding at our hands a recognition of their independence, what would be the response of the cision that Congress had power to establish the stars and cast the political horeoscope for me.

South protest.

any honorable sacrifice of past committals.

Now, sir, it will not become me to occupy any the Union of the States at this time.

These words of the venerable patriot ought to be inscribed in letters of gold and everywhere farther the time of the Senate; but I do exhort Until the North has done justice by repealing distibuted at the present time. A civil war is the Senators not to send out this declaration to the her personal liberty bills, enforcing the fugitive end of the Union. Let no Republican after this people of the South, nor to our mixed delegation in Congress as the ultimatum of the great State by honorable and manly compromises and coercion.

proud satisfaction.

Mr. Newcomb (interrupting)—When and where has a Republican in this State proposed to pass

The great problem of the hour is how can this unhappy imbroglio be adjusted? How can this Federal Union be preserved from destruction at

But the conservative masses of the country will say: "Perish creeds and platforms—perish pride and wickedness in the hearts of ambitious men—perish all the doctrines at war with the harmony and equality of the States—perish all political parties whose organizations formed the Republican party, that its parties whose organizations formed the Republican party, that its principles and utterances have become more in tallible and sacred than the Koran to the Mohomlence between sections—but let the Republic live."

I say there is as much disloyalty and moral treason in a persistent determination to let the lican party to reorganize the Federal Court and repository, in western New York, a quarter of a country sink for want of conciliation as there is reverse that decision, which, he says, disgraces century ago, and notwithstanding his wild fables in resisting the consequences of sectional rule. the judicial department of the Federal Govern- of the law, were taken from the archives of a

victory, it can not be denied that there is equal madness in clinging, with desperate grasp to sectional rule, in repudiating all honorable means of the Republican party? They have come into were indebted to every other party in the land adjustment, simply because an election was won power, and we give them credit for honesty of than the Democratic. They obtained one plate through the divisions of the conservative parties:

purpose and for integrity of design, when we say, from the secret archives of Know Nothingism, and the South say, we are to expect a fulfillment another from the order of political temperance, Carolina. So that, if disunion shall ensue through the irreconciliable differences between the North and South, the responsibility will be with the dom learning party of the North. It is in virtue of the election of a minority President by an anti-slavery issue that the right to rule and enforce Republican doctrines on the weaker section rests. A very large majority of the votes of this country and the South say, we are to expect a fulfillment of these pledges, and expect the government to be administered according to the policy proclaimed by its leaders. I advert to these things in kindness of spirit and without any purpose at all of inviting party controversies in this hall; and I do it for the purpose of assuring Senators that the right to rule and enforce Republican doctrines on the weaker section rests. A very large majority of the votes of this country was cast againt Mr. Lincoln and his doctrines; and yet the preposterous claim is set up that fifteen States shall acquiesce, without a murmur, in cause you claim, as I am ready to concede, that the ferocious administration of the General Gov-ernment, by the first sectional dynasty in our his-pledges. If so, is there a Senator here that will a versatility of genius, such talent for change, comment, by the first sectional dynasty in our history. It is an absurd assumption to say that those who voted for Mr. Lincoln voted that the Republican "confession of faith" must not yield an iota to the demands of peace and union.

Now, sir, I deny the right of any State in this Union to secede, from any cause whatever. The doctrine of secession rests upon the supposed constitutional right of any State to do so, and upon cive leval existence to slavery anywhere and to such powers of penetration and analysis, that enables it to embrace or reject a revelation as false in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed of the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? Would they not have reason to be alarmed if to-day the whole Federal power were in the hands of Republicans? stitutional right of any State to do so, and upon give legal existence to slavery anywhere, and tors why it is that the proposition to restore the Misstitutional right of any State to do so, and upon the supposed independency and sovereignty of any State, which is fallacious. This Government is not an aggregation of independencies: it is a great Government of the people; its laws and Constitution operate upon the people, and not upon the south from the common inheritance of the public domain. If our Southern brethren believe these things are to be carried out in the legislates. The people, North and South, owe altered to slavery anywhere, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to souri compromise as a peace measure, fraught with prohibit slavery in all the common Territories in a nations hopes and happiness, is rejected now, when so much affectation of holy horror has been expressed at its repeal, and so many pledges made for its restoration? Let not Republican leaders the supposed independency and sovereignty of any state it is the duty of the Federal Government to prohibit slavery in all the common Territories in a nations hopes and happiness, is rejected now, when so much affectation of holy horror has been expressed at its repeal, and so many pledges made for its restoration? Let not Republican leaders the supposed independency and sovereignty of any souri compromise as a peace measure, fraught with prohibit slavery in all the common Territories in a nations hopes and happiness, is rejected now, when so much affectation of holy horror has been expressed at its repeal, and so many pledges made for its restoration? Let not Republican leaders the supposed independency and sovereignty of any souri compromise as a peace measure, fraught with prohibit slavery in all the common Territories in a nations hopes and happiness, is rejected now, the land. This is a declaration of exclusion of the land. The supposed in th legiance to the Federal Government; it is not the States that owe allegiance. And when Mr. Buthanan says there is no power in the Federal Government to coerce a State, he was opposed and erament to coerce a State, he was opposed and the coerce and the coerc villified by insignificant politicians and editors, who little knew what they were about, at any time; for he said only what lawyers and statesmen now admit to be correct. But while there is no power in the Federal Government to coerce a State, it does not follow from that fact that the people may run riot in revolution and defiance of a party who have thus declared these ultra party, the existence of the Repeople may run riot in revolution and defiance of the Republican of all this to the laws. The laws operate upon individuals; alarm to the people of the slaveholding States. cant about principle. The Republican party and if South Carolina were alone to be dealt with Then will Republicans of the Senate not meet leaders are hesitating between their duty to their at this time, she could be very easily managed this question as patriots and as conservative men? country and their duty to their party. "To be or without resorting to coercive power of any sort. If you have no design upon them you have not to be?" is the question with them; they know For example, congressional legislation might nothing to sacrifice. I have no memories of the abolish Charleston as a port of entry and delivery, and thereby make the entry of that port con- leaves and lay them upon the altar of this com- compromise on which the Federal Union can be traband to all other nations. That does not in-volve war—it is but a question between the Fed-ever gallantly they have struggled for the doc-agitators in the North, as well as in the national eral Government and the shipping interest of the trines of non-intervention, and for this Union, councils. Hence, Mr. President, the unpatriotic world. If you would carry out the Federal laws and the blessings which are to flow from it, who and partisan tenacity with which party leaders la South Carolina, you might attach South Caro- are willing to make an offering upon the cling to the policy of coercion and civil war, lina for judicial purposes to a friendly border slave altar of our common country. And when we do rather than compromise. I would suppose, Mr. State. But there is none such now, and will not this, will you say I am demanding too much in President, that the surrender of principles so pro be till the North proposes some proper remedy behalf of this Union when I demand of Republic ductive of discord and blood would not be much for existing evils. Then, sir, if the Southern cans to come and do as we do? And when you of a sacrifice for patriots who place their country States unite with us upon some common scheme will do that we will stand for this Union right or above party; the Constitution above platforms; -then it might be well to adopt the Jackson pol- wrong. Until you do it you will find us divided the union of the States above the union of a secicy in treating with South Carolina; but even in sentiment. Suppose upon the other hand the tional party, and the equality, liberty and fraterthen every pacific means must be exhausted. We Southern people believe that the judiciary of the nity among the sister States, above the insatiable are not foreign foes; South Carolina is one of the United States is to be remodeled so as to reverse scramble of political cormorants for office. But great sisterhood of States. She has, with a brush the principles laid down in the Dred Scott de in response to all our appeals the dominant party of treason, wipel her own star from the flag of cision, would not that be good ground for alarm? in the North says, rather than surrender a party the country; but this nation does not recognize If the principles laid down in that decision, first, dogma or the spoils and laurels of a party trithe act. While it is her duty to yield obedience that a black man born of slave parentage can not umph, we would see the stars fall from our eagle to the Federal laws, by civil process, yet if Con- be a citizen of this nation; and again, that Con- banner; rather than lower our flag we would see gress will not abolish Charleston as a port of en- gress has no power to prohibit slavery in the the glorious ensign of the American republic try, the revenues might be collected by revenue common Territories—if these adjucated points in trailed in the dust." According to this view of cutters. There are peaceful means that I stand that decision are to be reversed by a remodled it, they would convert this country into a blood ommitted to first. First, I am in favor of some judiciary, for myself, sir, I should enter my pro- stained desert to maintain the consistency of the the approbation of the Southern border slave I would not have that decision reversed if I created equal, and in order to seal and cement this States; and when that is properly tendered, and could. I would not have it held that a negro is plighted faith in the "irrepressible conflict" docrefused, I am prepared to exhaust the civil reme- or can be a citizen of the Federal Union. I would trine enunciated by Messrs. Seward and Lincoln, ies of the Government, first.

not have it reversed and determined by the Fed.
But suppose eight slave States—it is the duty eral judiciary that Congress might interfere, be half free—that a house divided against itself can of statesmen to deal with questions as they are | cause whenever they did that then the principles | not stand. For these reasons I am ready to take

Republican members of the Senate? Would they slavery. Then, sir, I shall not impose upon the say we will enter our protest against the right of indulgence of this Senate further than simply to secession, and in the next place enter our decla- say the resolutions reported by the minority of the General Jackson on Coercion -- Advice ration of war against them, and go on in a scene | Committee on Federal Relations, express the senof carnage which must last over five or ten years, timents, sir, of the Democracy of the two branches and then leave the door forever closed against the of the General Assembly; and it may not be im-Union? Against these consequences, sir, I be-lieve the conservative people of the North and lutions underwent a review and discussion of a joint caucus of the Democrats of the General As-The amendment declares it to be the sentiment sembly, who stand pledged to it as their sentiof the Senate that the people should be allowed ments, freely expressed upon the impending crisis; an opportunity to speak upon this question with and that they are what they would expect their ne Union of these States at every hazard, and at House, that will promise as good a result or share in the common ruin."

States and shall be refused, the North-western

the hands of enemies North and South. This President, when I serve a notice now on the Re- Mr. Ray-I am not prepared to say that any Union must be preserved; the peace of the counpublican party that if they haughtily and disdain- Republican ever proposed a personal liberty bill try must be maintained; the Federal laws must be fully refuse to unite with the conservative men in the Legislature of this State; but I am pre- enforced by civil process; the Federal authority the confederacy at the sacrifice of every ism how-ever hoary—even Republicanism. by the Democratic party the year after. Many other Northern States have enacted nullifying forced by military power, but not without the ter-Our heroic ancestors endured much and sacri- laws striking vitally and traitorously-if I may rible argument of cannon and bayonets, which, We all know that such a Union as can only be an earthquake of revolution as will shake the

that this cry for coercion in lieu of compromise law of the heart. These are the indications of cans would live up to its spirit; but they everybrings no capital to a party nor strength to the Union. the hostile sentiment which has pervaded the Where invoke the most dire curses on themselves Union.

alarm in all this?

forever settle the slavery question. When we consider the doctrines of the Republican party, and the sectional character of their Now, sir, will it be said that the South have not over a host of corrupt and benighted followers.

Chicago platform, to the effect that all men are

of a Patriot. Gen. Jackson, in his farewell address to the

American people, in March, 1837, thus alluded to coercion. He said: "If such a struggle is ever begun, and the citarms against those of another in doubtful conflict.

let the battle result as it may, there will be an end their own lips, their own tongues, and from their Republican friends to be, for compromise and to the Union, and with it an end of the hopes of own hearts; and I believe to day if the conserva-tive voice of the people could come up from the northern and middle slave States it would be for

opinion, justice, as well as all parliamentary usage and law, would say that the friends of the original proposition should have a majority upon the com-mittee, and more especially when the original proposition or resolution was the Crittendeu amendments. Afterward, a multitude of propositions and resolves were referred to said committee, upon which the committee once made a unanimous report, which was afterward recommitted Upon all of the various propositions we will not speak in detail; but, being moved by an imperative sense of duty to our common country, we ask prompt action upon some scheme of adjustment that will preserve the Federal Union and restore tranquility to the country. Entertaining the most profound convictions of the blessings, as well as the threatened dangers of the Union, they are willing to make great sacrifices to perpetuate the one and avert the other.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Report of the Minority of the House Committee of Thirteen on Federal Affairs, Presented by Mr. Heffren, January 31, 1861.

Mr. Speaken: The undersigned, the minority of the Select Committee of Thirteen, to whom

was referred the resolution proposing that this House adopt as their sentiments the proposition

offered in the United States Senate by the Hon. John J. Crittenden, and to whom was referred the

various resolutions of the House upon Federal Affairs, would report the following as their views

They would say, without intending to cast any reflection upon the presiding officer of this House

in the formation of said committee, that, in their

upon the same:

At a time like this, when the foundations of the National Government are shaken, and its pillurs are crumbling away, it is the solemn duty of every patriot of the land to discard all specious fallacies in regard to slavery-all blind resentments for supposed aggressions—all prided sec-tional animosities, and all partisan criminalities, and forgetting the mutual provocations of the past, bring all ofiensive doctrines and platformsall abstract theories and barren creeds-as sacrifices upon the altar of a common country. The undersigned, entertaining these views,

have been and now are willing to sacrifice their former political ideas, notions and opinions upon the altar of their country, for the sake of preserving the heritage our fathers left us. They are pained to witness the present excited and alarming state of the public mind, yet common justice seems to require that we should revert to the history of the past and see what it is that has brought our nation to the verge of dissolution. In doing so we must say that the continued agitation in Congress, the State Legislatures, and be-fore the people by fanatical vagabonds, about the present alarming condition of affairs, anti-slavery lecturers, orators and stump speakers have, it seems to us, done all in their power to aid and assist in the great drama, and even professed ministers of God, men who hypocritically pretend to be ambassadors of the Most High, have descended from their lofty position and prostituted their talents and the pulpit, soild the robes of religion, disgraced decency and outraged morality disgraced decency and outraged morality by their infamous and hellish harangues to aid in the unholy and unchristian cause of bringing about contention and strife. Their whole theme has been of the wrongs of another race upon whose very form the God of creation has stamped the impress of inferiority to that of the whites, and by their lectures, speeches and sermons have pertinaciously continued the crusade until we now stand, as it were, upon the slumbering volcano with its hot, boiling lava vanting but a breath to overwhelm all a common ruin. Such is the terrible condition of our country to-day, and to this has she been brought by demagogues and fanatics until a portion of the people of the Union seek to pre-erve their rights by secession. Star after star has fallen in quick succession from the national firmment, and soon more will follow unless the gaping, bleeling wounds of our country are staunched. Can we even hope for a return to justice by the North? We fear not. Madness seems to rule the day, the hour; reason and discretion seem to have fled their seats and left the impulses and passions of man to run riot. Love of country seems to be forgotten and patriotism banished from the hearts of men. Confusion and discord appear on every hand.

In this condition of our country, in the present disordered exigencies of the hour, the undersigned believe that every effort for conciliation should be exhausted, every offer of compromise duly and furly considered and well examined; that we should meet our brethren of the South as patriots and lovers of a common country, who, while sternly and properly protecting their own rights and liberties, would not infringe upon ours; that each and all should sacrifice partisan prejudices and opinions, however much we may distike so to do so, for the good of our country, and accept any offer which is honorable and calculated to save the country and the liberties of the people, seems to us a plain duty as well as a patriotic one. In holding these views the undersigned would accept and respond to the invitation of Virginia for the appointment of Commissioners to confer with thers at Washington City on the 4th of next February, and would accept the propositions known as the Crittenden, border State, or any other just and honorable scheme of conciliation and adjustment which will save the Union and

They would further say that they believe this Government "derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," and that it would become subversive of the very spirit of liberty and of natural right to attempt, by the strong arm of Federal power, backed up as it would be by the army and navy to coerce or compel the people of any State or States to remain an integral part of a Government they desire to separate from, and that we can not view but with serious alarm any attempt upon the part of the General Government to make vassels and seris of the freemen of the country, to do homage to a great power at the point of the sabre or bayonet. If such a course should be pursued, and be successful, the free citizen of Indiana would have no guarantee of his liberties worth the name, and when a dominant party, placed in power upon the very question which is now disrupting the Government, attempts to enforce its political creeds and dogmas at the point of the bayonet and at the cannon's mouth, it becomes every freeman to say whether he will assist in the hellish scheme or whether he will stand idly by and see despotism flourish, or whether he shall shoulder their arms to protect and preserve their rights and liberties. We believe we will be safe than one hundred thousand of the freemen of Indiana, that we will not assist in the scheme, that we will not stand idly by, but remembering the illustrious examples of their fathers, fight to keep the fires of equal rights, justice and liberty burn-ing. Yet, desirous as we are of preventing any collision between the people of any State or States and the Federal Government, or between the people of the several States, to avoid the horrors of a civil war with all its concommitant train of evils, to avoid the shedding of blood, the rayaging of villages, the sacking of cities, and preserve and if possible transmit unimpaired to our posterrity, the best Government ever established maintain our station among the nations of the earth and still preserve our land and nation as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, would report for adoption the following joint resolution:

Be it resolved, by the General Assembly of the

State of Indiana, That in the opinion of this General Assembly, commissioners should be appointed to meet commissioners of other States, on the 4th of February next, in accordance with the request of the General Assembly of Virginia, and that Henry S. Lane, Caleb R. Smith, William T. Otto, Cyrus L. Dunham and Thomas A. Hendricks be and they are hereby appointed such commissioners to proceed to Washington City without delay, to meet the commissioners of other States, to consult upon the present alarming condition of the country, and that they report their action to this General Assembly.

Be it further resolved, That we accept, as a basis of settlement, the propositions of Hon.

John J. Crittenden, made in the Senate of the United States. Be it further resolved, That our Senators longress be instructed, and our Representatives se requested to use all their influence to have said propositions accepted by Congress, and that they do all in their power to have a convention of

Be it further resolved, That the people of In iana should have occasion to express their pinions upon said propositions at the ballot box; perefore, we do recommend the passage of a aw, as soon as possible, to allow the people to ote for or against such proposition, on the 22d iav of February next. Resolved further, That we are willing to ac

cept any honorable measures of pacification of the present difficulties to save our country, the nion and the Constitution. H. HEFFREN, C. B. KNOWLTON,

LEWIS PROSSER, WM. E. McLEAN, M. JENKINSON.

"Hetrenchment and Beform." In the late political canvass the Republi uns arraigned the Democracy for extravagance and abuse of power, and promised "retrenchment and reform" in the administration of the State Government if they came into power. They succeeded upon that issue. Is there any likelihood that these pledges will be redeemed? Where

izens of one section of the country are arrayed in are the Republicans who were so profuse in their romises to cut down the public expenditures and parify the Government? Is there even a proscure to them the blessings of liberty. It would thousand schemes are on foot to deplete the avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves treasury. An extra session of the Legislature is also talked of, as the Republicans think it im-possible to do all the legislation during a Consti-tutional session to perfect their designs on the public treasury and increase the burdens of taxation. We refer to this matter to remind the people of the pledges made by the Republican party before the election.